

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STOCKH 00778 01 OF 02 150820Z

16

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-06 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-07

L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

DPW-01 NEA-09 SAJ-01 ACDA-05 NIC-01 EB-07 OMB-01 AF-06

OES-03 COME-00 /106 W

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P R 150730Z FEB 75

FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3955

INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY SAIGON

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION OECD PARIS

USMISSION NATO

DOD WASHDC

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 STOCKHOLM 0778

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MASS, XZ, UR, FI, SW, XC, XF

SUBJECT: FOREIGN MINISTER ANDERSSON DEFENDS SWEDISH NEUTRALITY

REF: (A) STOCKHOLM 0749, (B) STOCKHOLM 0711, (C) HELSINKI 0313

BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED

1. IN A LONG INTERVIEW PUBLISHED IN DAGENS NYHETER FEB 14, SWEDISH FOREIGN MINISTER SVEN ANDERSSON STRONGLY DEFENDED SWEDISH NEUTRALITY, INSISTING THAT IT HAD MOVED NEITHER TOWARDS THE EAST NOR TOWARDS THE WEST. THE INTERVIEW COVERED THE WHOLE SPECTRUM OF SWEDISH FOREIGN POLICY, RANGING FROM  
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PAGE 02 STOCKH 00778 01 OF 02 150820Z

SCANDINAVIAN TO VIETNAM AND THE MIDEAST. THE FOREIGN

MINISTER DENIED THAT SWEDISH POLICY HAS BEEN "ANTI-AMERICAN."  
HOWEVER, THE MAIN THRUST OF THE FOREIGN  
MINISTERS COMMENTS SEEMED DIRECTED AT ANSWERING RECENT  
CRITICISM--FROM THE SOVIET UNION AND FINLAND--THAT CERTAIN  
SWEDISH ACTIONS HAVE RAISED QUESTIONS ABOUT THE INTEGRITY  
OF SWEDISH NEUTRALITY (REFTELS). THESE ACTIONS HAVE  
INCLUDED THE SWEDISH "GUARANTEES" TO FOUR NATO NATIONS  
THAT, IF THEY BOUGHT THE VIGGEN AS THE F-104 REPLACEMENT,  
DELIVERIES WOULD BE ASSURED EVEN IN WARTIME, A SURVEY BY  
SUPREME COMMANDER GENERAL SYNNERGREN CARRIED IN THE  
SWEDISH PRESS ALLUDING TO POTENTIAL DANGERS TO SWEDEN  
CAUSED BY IMPROVED SOVIET-FINNISH ROAD AND RAIL  
NETWORKS AND, EARLIER, THE SWEDISH DECISION TO JOIN THE IEA.

2. MAIN POINT OF ANDERSSON'S INTERVIEW ARE AS FOLLOWS:  
(FULL TEXT BEING AIR POUCHED):

A. US AND VIETNAM--ANDERSSON SAID (VERBATIM QUOTE):  
"WE ARE NOT ANTI-AMERICAN. WE HAVE AN ENTIRELY DIFFERENT  
OPINION ON THE VIETNAM WAR THAN THE AMERICAN  
LEADERSHIP DURING THE CONFLICT AND EVEN NOW. THAT IS BECAUSE WE  
HAVE FELT THAT INSTEAD OF ENGAGING IN WAR ONE SHOULD TRY TO FIND  
POLITICAL SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS IN VIETNAM. WE SUPPORTED THE  
PARIS AGREEMENT WHEN IT WAS CONCLUDED TWO YEARS AGO. WE THOUGHT  
THAT IT WAS THE FIRST MAJOR EFFORT TO PROCEED ALONG THE  
ROAD OF PEACE. THE AGREEMENT, WHICH HAS MANY SIGNATORIES,  
INCLUDING THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA, HAS NOT BEEN  
FUNCTIONING. THE UNITED STATES HAS WITHDRAWN ITS FORCES  
AND THE PRISONERS OF WAR HAVE BEEN EXCHANGED, BUT THE WAR  
GOES ON. WE ARE CONCERNED THAT NO SERIOUS EFFORTS ARE  
MADE TO GET THE PARIS AGREEMENT TO FUNCTION AND THAT THE  
CHANCES FOR PEACEFUL SOLUTION ARE NOT EXPLOITED. THERE  
IS A GREAT RISK THAT WE WILL BE WITNESSES TO A NEW  
MILITARY ESCALATION AND A CONTINUED WAR. THE COUNTRY IS LARGELY  
DESTROYED. THE PEOPLE LIVE UNDER A DREADFUL SITUATION. SWEDEN HAS  
NO OTHER INTERESTS IN VIETNAM THAN THE FOLLOWING: WE  
FEEL THAT A SMALL COUNTRY WHICH FIGHTS FOR ITS FREEDOM  
AND INDEPENDENCE SHOULD BE GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO  
DECIDE ITS OWN FUTURE."

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PAGE 03 STOCKH 00778 01 OF 02 150820Z

B. SWEDISH NEUTRALITY--THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID  
SWEDISH NEUTRALITY IS NOT MOVING TOWARDS EITHER EAST OR  
WEST. RECENT DISCUSSION ABOUT SWEDISH NEUTRALITY ARE  
OFTEN BASED ON "MISUNDERSTANDINGS," THE FOREIGN MINISTER  
SAID, ADDING THAT HE THOUGHT BOTH THE US AND USSR "BELIEVE  
IN THE FIRMNESS OF SWEDISH NEUTRALITY POLICIES." ANDERSSON  
REJECTED RECENT SPECULATION THAT SWEDEN IS BECOMING MORE  
"WESTERN ORIENTED," AND JUSTIFIED SWEDISH MEMBERSHIP IN

THE IEA AS A "CONTINUATION" OF SWEDISH MEMBERSHIP IN THE OECD. WITH REGARD TO THE "GUARANTEES" TO NATO COUNTRIES ABOUT DELIVERY OF THE VIGGEN EVEN IN WARTIME, ANDERSSON EMPHASIZED THAT THE VIGGEN IN QUESTION WOULD BE THE FIGHTER VERSION AND "NOT THE ATTACK VERSION WE HAVE IN OUR SWEDISH UNITS." NOTING THAT HE HAD ALSO RECEIVED LETTERS (PRE-SUMABLY FROM SWEDISH CONSTITUTENTS) WHO WORRY THAT SWEDEN'S "ACTIVE" NEUTRALITY SIGNIFIED CLOSER TIES TO THE EAST, ANDERSSON SAID THAT SWEDEN'S ACTIVE ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS WAS DESIGNED TO "SAFEGUARD THE RIGHTS OF SMALL STATES TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN DESTINIES."

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PAGE 01 STOCKH 00778 02 OF 02 150834Z

16  
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FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3958  
INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY OSLO  
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK  
AMEMBASSY SAIGON  
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS  
USMISSION OECD PARIS  
USMISSION NATO  
DOD WASHDC  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 STOCKHOLM 0778

C. THE MIDEAST--ASKED WHETHER THE OIL CRISIS HAD FORCED A CHANGE IN SWEDEN'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE ARAB COUNTRIES, ANDERSSON ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE ARAB COUNTRIES ARE USING OIL AS A POLITICAL WEAPON, BUT SAID SWEDEN HAD NOT BEEN FORCED TO MAKE ANY STATEMENTS SUPPORTING THE ARABS TO SECURE OIL SHIPMENTS. HAD THE ARABS DEMANDED SUCH A STATEMENT, ANDERSSON ASSERTED, SWEDEN WOULD HAVE REPEATED ITS POSITION THAT IT SUPPORTS THE EXISTENCE OF ISRAEL AND ITS RIGHTS TO SECURE BORDERS. HE EMPHASIZED THAT THE GOS HAD CONSISTENTLY SUPPORTED UN RESOLUTIONS FOR PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF THE MIDEAST CONFLICT, INCLUDING THE WITHDRAWAL BY ISRAEL OF TERRITORIES CONQUERED IN THE  
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PAGE 02 STOCKH 00778 02 OF 02 150834Z

1967 WAR. WITH REGARD TO SWEDEN'S SUPPORT TO PLO LEADER AFRAFAT'S APPEARANCE BEFORE THE UNGA, ANDERSSON SAID THE GOS CONSIDERED ITS STANCE CORRECT IN VIEW OF THE POSITION THE PLO HOLDS AMONG THE ARAB STATES.

D. THE SOVIET UNION AND FINLAND--ANDERSSON SAID HE HAD READ GENERAL SYNNERGREN'S REVIEW IN WHICH HE HAD REFERRED TO THE POTENTIAL DANGER TO SWEDEN OF SOVIET-FINNISH ROAD AND RAIL NETWORK DEVELOPMENT. NOTING THAT SYNNERGREN'S ANALYSIS MAY HAVE BEEN MISINTERPRETED BECAUSE IT APPEARED IN A MILITARY REVIEW. THE GOS REGARDS FINNISH SOVIET COOPERATION AS CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE NORDIC AREA, HE SAID. ASKED IF THE SOVIETS HAD BEEN IRRITATED BY THE SYNNERGREN ARTICLE, ANDERSSON ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE SOVIET PRESS HAD BEEN IRRITATED BUT SAID THAT THERE HAD BEEN "NO CONTACTS" BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT WITH THE SWEDISH FOREIGN MINISTRY ON THIS ISSUE. ANDERSSON DEPLORED THE GROWING CURRENCY OF THE TERM "FINLANDIZATION," WHICH HE SAID UNDERSTANDABLY ANNOYS THE FINNS. HOWEVER, HE DISMISSED THE IDEA OF SOVIET PARTICIPATION IN NORDIC COOPERATION--ADVANCED BY A FINNISH NEWSPAPER--POINTEDLY REMARKING THE "THE SOVIET UNION DOES NOT BELONG TO THE NORDIC COUNTRIES."

E. NORDIC COOPERATION--ANDERSSON SAID CONDITIONS ARE FAVORABLE FOR EXPANDED NORDIC ECONOMIC COOPERATION, NOTING THAT THE OIL AND GAS IN THE NORTH SEA "OPEN NEW POSSIBILITIES" FOR NORDIC COOPERATION. END UNCLASSIFIED.

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3. COMMENT: IT IS PROBABLE THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER GAVE AN INTERVIEW TO DAGENS NYHETER AT THIS PARTICULAR JUNCTURE JUST BEFORE THE NORDIC COUNCIL MEETING IN REYKJAVIK IN ORDER TO ANSWER CRITICISM THAT CERTAIN RECENT ACTIONS DESCRIBED IN PARA 1 HAVE COMPROMISED SWEDISH

NEUTRALITY. HOWEVER, HIS STATEMENT THAT THERE HAD BEEN "NO CONTACTS" BETWEEN THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT AND THE SWEDISH FOREIGN MINISTRY IS AT VARIANCE WITH RELIABLE EMBASSY INFORMATION THAT A VISITING SOVIET DIPLOMAT BELOKVOSTIKOV CHIEF OF SCAN AFFAIRS IN SOVIET MFA, MADE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STOCKH 00778 02 OF 02 150834Z

AT LEAST INFORMAL REPRESENTATIONS TO HIS SWEDISH COUNTER-PART, MFA CHIEF POLITICAL AFFAIRS, LEIFLAND, OVER THE RECENT SWEDISH ACTIONS.

THE DAGENS NYHETER REVIEW WAS PROBABLY ALSO AIMED AT REASSURING FINLAND, WITH WHOM SWEDEN HAS LONG HAD A "SPECIAL" RELATIONSHIP, THAT THE GOS UNDERSTANDS ITS PROBLEMS AND DOES NOT WISH TO MAKE THE FINNISH RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS MORE DIFFICULT. THE FOREIGN MINISTERS DESCRIPTION OF FINNISH-SOVIET COLLABORATION AS A FORCE FOR PEACE IN THE NORDIC AREA, AND HIS REJECTION OF THE TERM "FINLANDIZATION" APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN AIMED AT REASSURING THE FINNS IN THIS REGARD. ON THE OTHER HAND, HE REJECTED FIRMLY ANY SUGGESTION OF SOVIET PARTICIPATION IN NORDIC COOPERATION AND WHILE INDICATING THAT SYNNERGREN'S ANALYSIS MAY HAVE BEEN "MISINTERPRETED," HE DID NOT CHALLENGE ANY OF THE SUPREME COMMANDER'S OBSERVATIONS ON THE POTENTIAL MILITARY CONSEQUENCES TO SWEDEN OF IMPROVED SOVIET COMMUNICATIONS IN THE NORDIC AREA. IN SHARP CONTRAST TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S HARSH CRITICISM OF THE US AND VIETNAM LAST MONTH IN A PUBLIC SPEECH, ANDERSSON'S COMMENTS ON VIETNAM ARE MUTED, AND HE DOES NOT INDICATE WHOM HE CONSIDERS TO BLAME FOR FAILURE TO IMPLEMENT THE PARIS AGREEMENT IN THAT COUNTRY. STRAUSZ-HUPE

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